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Organ of the All-India Friends of the Soviet Union

Editor

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R. M. JAMBHEKAR

January-February 1949.

Lenin's Teachings on Imperialism and International Cooperation

ON January 21, 1924 Lenin died. But the Soviet people never parted with their beloved leader. Lenin's tomb where they have kept his embalmed body has become a place of pilgrimage for millions.

The Soviet people have not, however, merely preserved the body of Lenin. They have also kept alive the great ideas of Leninism. Developed further forward by his collaborator and continuator Stalin and sharpened with constant use, Leninism today is a mighty and invincible weapon in the armoury of the common people.

Among Lenin's greatest contribution to the theory of scientific socialism was his critique of imperialism. **Leninism, as Stalin points out, is Marxism of the era of imperialism.** Lenin ruthlessly exposed the evil doings of the imperialists and their henchmen among all parties, particularly the Right Wing Social Democrats. "Socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities," Lenin wrote in 1916, ".....that they will free the enslaved nations.....—such parties are committing treachery to Socialism."

UNDER Lenin's leadership the Soviet State liberated the nations oppressed by tsarism and cancelled all unequal treaties tsarist Russia's Eastern neighbours had been forced

to sign. Referring to this in an address to students Pt. Nehru said in Calcutta on Sept. 22, 1928.

"She (Russia) stands today as the greatest opponent of imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous. In China, Turkey and Persia of her own free will she gave up her valuable rights and concessions, whilst the British bombarded the crowded Chinese cities and killed Chinamen by the hundreds because they dared to protest against British imperialism.

"In the city of Tabriz in Persia, when the Russian ambassador first came, he called the populace together and on behalf of the Russian nation tendered formal apology for the sins of the tsars. Russia goes to the East as equal, not as a conqueror or race superior. Is it any wonder that she is welcome?"

THE USSR, founded by Lenin, has faithfully adhered to Lenin's principles of anti-imperialism and has fought consistently for the recognition of the equality and sovereignty of all nations. This has won the Soviet Union the love of the common people and bitter hatred of imperialists and their lackeys who spared no efforts in the past, spare none today and will spare nothing in the future to destroy it.

It was not therefore an accident that the American delegate Austin launched a broadside against Lenin and Leninism in the recent U.N.O. session. Nor was it an accident that the Social Democrats Bevin and Spaak added their own bit to this "ideological" attack. Because they themselves do not believe

in cooperation between nations on the basis of sovereign equality, they accused the U. S. S. R. and Lenin of being against international cooperation. The Soviet delegate, Vyshinsky, however exploded this profound analysis of Leninism by the Anglo-American imperialists.

And if one looks around in the world and sees how the Dutch are building international cooperation in Indonesia, how the British are strengthening their ties with the Malaysians, what the French are doing in this field in Viet-Nam and what the theoreticians of the Truman Doctrine and the practitioners of the Marshall Plan are doing to achieve international cooperation in China, Greece and Korea one can understand what "international cooperation" means in the lexicon of imperialism. "Internationalism" of this type is indeed alien to Leninism and the U. S. S. R.

Leninism believes in international cooperation on the basis of equality and sovereignty of nations, on the basis of rejection of imperialist methods and relations. It is on this basis that the U. S. S. R. built her invincible unity within her borders. It is on this same basis that she has built her indestructible bond of friendship with the new democracies of Eastern Europe. It is this same principle that explains the consistent championship by the U.S.S.R. of the freedom movements of Indonesia, Vietnam, China, India and all oppressed nations.

Today when in our own country there are people who talk of Soviet imperialism, when membership of the British Commonwealth is being canvassed as a contribution to international cooperation, Indian democrats must put the fight for Indo-Soviet friendship in the forefront of their democratic programme. The fight against imperialism, for genuine international cooperation and for world peace can be won only if the progressive forces unite uncompromisingly to defeat imperialism and establish free and equal relations between nation and nation; as Lenin taught.

U. S. S. R. and Indonesian Struggle for Freedom

RAVI BAKAYA

"The Soviet Union does not want an independent Indonesia. It wants an Indonesia under the domination of a Communist minority, taking its orders from Moscow," declared Dr. Phillip Jessup, the American representative in the Security Council on January 11. Earlier in the same speech he alleged: "The Soviet Government had got no interest in supporting the Republican Government, nor in restoring peace in Indonesia. It is using the familiar tactics in Korea, Greece, Berlin, now in Indonesia."

Thus by implication the American delegate asserted that his own Government and its friends (primarily the British and the Dutch) wanted an independent Indonesia, supported the Republican Government and were helping to restore peace in Indonesia.

What are the facts?

Mountbatten Asks Japanese To Maintain Order.

THE question arises: When the Indonesian Republic proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945—the day the Japanese surrendered—there were no foreign troops in Indonesian Republican territory; Indonesia was *de facto* an independent country; how then did Indonesia lose her independence?

On March 9, 1942 the Dutch forces in Indonesia capitulated to the Japanese and the fate of 70 million Indonesians passed into the hands of a new master. For three and a half years the Indonesians suffered and struggled against the Japanese imperialists. On August 17, 1945 Japanese troops surrendered to the victorious allies. The Indonesians on the same day proclaimed their free Republic. The defeated Japanese Command asked the allies what it should do, whether it should hand over power to the Indonesian authorities.

Lord Mountbatten, who was the Allied Commander-in-Chief of South East Asia at the time, instructed the Japanese not to hand over power to

anyone, but to continue to "preserve order" till the British troops arrived. This decision naturally led to protest demonstrations in Indonesia and to clashes with the Japanese. The Japanese used tanks and artillery against the Indonesians.

Surabaya was resisted by the Indonesians. The battle was described by the conservative "Daily Mail" of Britain as follows:

"In what is officially described as fanatical charges, hundreds of Indonesians hurled themselves against our tanks as they rounded street corners in the centre of the city. Many Indonesians were killed but the tanks pressed relentlessly on. Thunderbolts had been standing by all day 'bombed up' and ready for immediate action. They were ordered into the air and soon after 4 p. m. they were given their targets.....an Indonesian Army H. Q. and three other buildings being used by Indonesians to hold our troops....."

Towards the end of November the New York radio estimated Indonesian losses to between 30 and 40 thousand killed. On October 17 Mr. Sorensen, M. P. asked in the British Parliament:



Molotov & Vyshinsky at a U. N. O. Meeting.

"The Peace is Broken....."

ON September 29, 1945 British and Indian troops arrived in Batavia. On October 10 the landing of British and Indian troops in

"Is not my Right Hon. friend aware that quite a number of members of the House are very disturbed at what seems to be the case, that the Japanese and ourselves are collaborating in using force

against the actual inhabitants of Indonesia?"

On December 11, John Platts Mills, Left Wing Labour M. P., made the following statement in the British Parliament:

"I ask whether it is suggested that there is some agreement, kept secret so far, which required us to be there and to intervene in what is becoming a bloody war on behalf of the Dutch Empire. It is not a case where the peace of the world is threatened. *The peace is broken, destroyed already, the war is on.*"

Progressive people everywhere, including in Britain itself, protested against the shameful policy of the British Labour Government. In India the demand was raised to put an immediate stop to the use of Indian troops to destroy the independence of a brother Asian people. Australian dockers organised their epic boycott against Dutch ships.

January, 1946—Soviet Defends Indonesian Independence

IN the international council of nations it was the USSR which raised her voice first in defence of Indonesian freedom. As far back as January 21, 1946—three long years ago—the delegation of Soviet Ukraine demanded that the U. N. Security Council stop this aggression. In the debate that followed the Ukrainian delegate Manuilsky and the USSR delegate Vyshinsky demanded peace and freedom for the Indonesian Republic. Manuilsky said:

"In the first place, the Ukrainian delegation considers it wrong to use British troops for the struggle against the Indonesian national movement."

"Secondly, the Ukrainian delegation considers impermissible the use, in any shape or form of enemy Japanese armed forces against the Indonesian people, which is defending its elementary national rights."

"Thirdly, the Ukrainian delegation insists on the application to the Indonesians of the fundamental principles of the Charter, which recognise the right of every people to decide its own fate and to establish the form of government it wishes. We recall that one of the tasks of the United Nations is to promote the development of dependent peoples in the direction of self-government and independence."

"Lastly, the Ukrainian delegation insists on the Security Council setting up a special Commission to be sent to Indonesia, to examine the situation on the spot, and to establish peace in Indonesia."

The initiative of the USSR was warmly welcomed in Indonesia. In a speech in this connection Dr. Sjahrir said:

"It is appropriate for the Soviet Union to take such action because the Soviet Union is the major power with the least direct interest in Indonesia and is therefore better able to present the case as a moral issue."

The Lingadjati Agreement

THE stand of the USSR, the valiant defence of the Indonesians and growing world public opinion compelled Holland and her colonial champion Britain to agree to negotiations with the Republican Government. But operations against the Indonesian democrats continued. An attempt was made to divide the Indonesians by asserting that action was being taken

only against "extremists." This propaganda did not godown. Amir Sjarifoedin, at that time Minister of Defence in Indonesia, warned:

"On behalf of the peoples of Indonesia, I want to warn the Dutch imperialists, who are counting on a lightning victory, that they will not achieve what they are out for in many years. The Dutch army will never succeed in destroying Indonesian independence."

The Dutch were unable to gain victory in a "lightning war" and on March 24, 1947 the Lingadjati agreement was signed in Batavia providing for the creation of a United States of Indonesia under the Dutch crown. Even this agreement—which was a compromise on the part of the Republican Government who recognised the sovereignty of the Dutch crown—was not to the liking of the British imperialists. The London "Times" commenting on the agreement wrote:

"It is to be hoped that the interests of Britain, represented by a capital investment of about fifty million pounds sterling, will not be endangered by a narrowly selfish policy on the part of the local authorities."

For the Dutch the agreement was only a manoeuvre. They redoubled their efforts to form puppet governments in the archipelago and not only continued their blockade but also launched fresh armed attacks against the Republic.

American open Support to Dutch

THE American imperialists who had not so far shown themselves in the open on the side of the Dutch soon came to the fore, as the liberation movement developed into a struggle against all foreign usurpers—Dutch, British and American alike.

(Continued on page 16)

FIVE WEEKS IN THE LAND OF SOCIALISM (IV)

R. M. Jambhekar

One of the oft-repeated charges against the Soviet Union is the charge that since the Soviet civilisation is based on the materialist outlook no attention is paid there to the spiritual development of man.

THERE are two sections of people who level this charge. The first consists of the various spokesmen of imperialism, especially Anglo-American imperialism, as also spokesmen of big business in all countries, especially all Asian countries including our own. So far as this section of 'spiritual' critics is concerned we can dispose them of by saying that Satan may quote the Bible but nobody in his senses takes it seriously.

The second section of critics, however, consists of honest members of the intelligentsia, honest especially when they belong to the oppressed countries of Asia. I remember quite a few critics of this section, who, as members of the 'Friends of the Soviet Union' in India, raised this question. They whole-heartedly agreed that the successive Five-Year Plans definitely brought a new and unprecedented material prosperity to the people of the USSR. "But" they averred, "don't you think that in this planned pursuit of material prosperity there lies a danger that 'things of the spirit, or the 'soul of man' may be forgotten?" "We can visualise," they said, "that within a few more years the slogan 'From each according to his ability to each according to his needs' will be a reality in the Soviet world, and everyone will be in a position to have as much of anything as

one likes to have. But what about 'things of the spirit'?"—they insisted.

By 'things of the spirit' or 'the soul of man' did they mean any kind of search after the 'Almighty'? Not all of them; and those of them who did, agree that the Stalin Constitution fully granted Freedom of Conscience to every individual, and anybody, therefore, could carry on a search after the 'Almighty' in any way he liked, provided the method of search employed did not involve an attempt to undermine the new social order. What they had in mind, therefore, was *the spiritual development of man.*

What then was the source of their anxiety? What was it that made them feel that 'things of the spirit' may be forgotten or ignored under the Soviet civilisation?

A Source of Anxiety

This anxiety arose in their minds mainly because centuries of our tradition have nurtured a belief, a belief that has almost acquired the tenacity of a prejudice, that material prosperity and spiritual integrity do not, and even CANNOT, go hand in hand. *Generation after generation of thinking men and women of Asian lands have observed wealth and prosperity invariably coupled with spiritual vulgarity and emptiness:*

so much so that they honestly built up in their minds an irreconcilable contradiction between material prosperity and spiritual integrity. This contradiction in their minds was the main source of their anxiety regarding 'things of the spirit' in the USSR.

This contradiction does assume an irreconcilable form in a society that is divided into antagonistic classes—the class of the rich that lives on the labour of the poor and the class of the poor that can keep body and soul together only by labouring for the rich. *In such a society, material prosperity, being invariably based on parasitism, can never go hand in hand with spiritual integrity.* This for the simple reason that spiritual integrity basically consists in one's attitude to society, one's attitude to fellow human beings, while all parasitism involves the deception, oppression and the exploitation of fellow human beings. You cannot be good to those whom you rob or intend to rob!

Contradiction Solved

But in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics this contradiction has been resolved for good. There nobody lives, or *can* live, on the labour of others. Article 12 of the Stalin Constitution lays it down in the very first chapter: "*He who does not work, neither shall he eat.*"

We did not find even a trace of any kind of parasitism in the Soviet Union. And yet, everybody there is, and can be, more and more prosperous with each sunrise. At the end of the first nine months of 1948 the aggregate pay-roll of factory and office workers in the USSR, for example, was nearly double that of 1940; and the real wages of workers and office em-

ployees had more than doubled. The total grain yield of the Soviet Union has already exceeded that of the pre-war year of 1940 in spite of the fact that the crop area has not yet attained the pre-war level; and 1948 has given three times as many tractors, twice as many motor trucks and agricultural machines as in 1940 to the Soviet farmers.

In the Soviet Union they have established a mode of living which enables one to improve one's standard of living without living on the labour of another. This new, Socialist mode of living which is no longer an 'experiment' but has come to stay and is being adopted today in a number of countries even outside the borders of the USSR, killed two birds with one stone. *On the one hand it has done away with all the spiritual vulgarity and rottenness that takes birth in social parasitism, and on the other, made it possible for the urge for spiritual integrity to go hand in hand with material well-being, thus removing for ever the painful conflict between the urge to be good to fellow human beings and the inexorable dictates of the struggle to keep body and soul together.*

Marx and Engels

BY finally removing this conflict between the good of the individual and the good of the collective the Socialist civilisation of the USSR has qualitatively demarcated itself from all preceding civilisations of mankind based on class-divisions. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of Scientific Socialism, foresaw this qualitative leap more than a hundred years ago. They wrote :

"In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have a society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

This brilliant and profound forecast has become a fact in the Soviet Union. That is why the human urge for spiritual integrity in social relations, far from being ignored or forgotten, receives for the first time in history, the fullest scope for its realisation and development. The universal equality and justice that Gautam Buddha, Jesus Christ, Mohammed or Sant Tukaram dreamed of, and could only *dream of*, has for the first time become a reality here on earth, in the Socialist Sixth of the world, and all the theories of the preordination of man, including our Hindu theory of the 'Four Varnas' (four castes), invented by religious spokesmen who had sold themselves to the ruling classes, have been finally thrown overboard by life itself.

The Crucial Test

Soviet life, far from ignoring 'things of the spirit' has furnished mankind with a new and crucial test of judging the spiritual integrity of a civilization. *This test lies in the attitude of a civilization to labour.* What is the attitude of the capitalist civilisation to labour? The class whose name this civilisation bears hates and looks down upon labour, for it is used to live on the labour of others. To have to work for a living is considered a disgrace in the drawing rooms and parlours of this class! The working people too come to hate labour since they can labour only on condition that they go on enriching the privileged few, only on condition that they put up with being robbed of the fruits of their work. Even their urge to contribute their labour for the good of the collective thus gets warped under this civilisation, until at last they begin to unite and battle against it and draw a new spiritual urge from this battle and the future it holds out to them, and to mankind.

In this civilization, therefore, people's labour is not valued as such. No social significance is attributed to it; and it bears the character of each working man's private, personal burden and a hateful burden at that. What kind of spiritual integrity can this civilisation claim when labour, the only source of all the wealth and culture of mankind comes to be hated under it?

How does the Soviet civilisation fare in this respect? It is already some years since Stalin declared : *"Labour in our country has transformed from a heavy and dishonourable burden into a matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour and heroism."* And every day of our stay in Moscow, Tbilisi, Batum, Gory, Leninrad, of the number of other places we passed through, brought us a hundredfold confirmation of these words of Stalin.

Story Behind the Cap

Let me give but one example of how a class-divided society utterly frustrates man's urge for spiritual integrity and creates a rupture between the good of the individual and the good of the collective.

While finishing a short term of imprisonment in the Thana District Prison, in 1934, an old prisoner of about fifty-five and I became friends. He used to come to our yard to sweep it. The black cap that he wore indicated that he was a 'habitual criminal'.

"There is a long story behind my black cap!" he told me one day. "I was a peasant with a small piece of land I could call my own. My first wife died in a few years after our marriage. She was a hardworking woman—may God bless her. She did not give me

any children. A year after her death my elder brother pressed me to marry again. As God would have it, my second wife gave me seven daughters in succession. But I did not get a single son. Meanwhile the burden of my large family drove me into the clutches of a moneylender. I mortgaged my piece of land and lost it to him. I began now to work for the moneylender. Our earnings were too meagre, and the first two of my daughters were now of marriageable age. I took another loan from the moneylender, now my landlord, and managed to get them married. The landlord extorted a rate of cent per cent interest per year on this loan. I could never hope to pay back this loan from my earnings. I was thus tied to that piece of land for life—that same piece which used to be mine! It was not long before boys of my village began casting friendly glances at my third daughter. She was good looking and playful. This time, however fate took a hand in my affairs. I had noticed my

landlord receiving a good amount of cash from peasants of the neighbourhood. Having ascertained that he was spending a night in another village I decided to burgle his house! I managed it successfully. I never said a word about this to my wife. I buried the money in a safe spot and gave nobody any reason to suspect my new-found prosperity. God gave me my daughters and he had no reason to be angry with me if I stole money to get them married. Besides I stole it, not from a good man, but from him who had robbed me of my land. Surely, with half an eye God could see what a nasty thief he is, I said to myself. I gave eight months for the storm to blow over and then arranged the marriages of two more daughters. Nobody found out my secret and I was convinced God was with me. That gave me courage, a year later, to burgle another house some miles away in a small town. Soon after I pulled off the marriage of my fifth daughter. But the police somehow got scent of it and in due course I

was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

"It was difficult for my wife—but I thanked God all the same, for here in this prison Government gave me food to keep alive and that was one mouth less for the family to feed, and a big one at that! In the prison nobody bothered to ask me what drove me to being a burglar. The prison authorities seemed to consider that burglars like *avataras* (great men), are born and their job was to humiliate me. I became quite thick-skinned and ceased to care for them or their laws. Well, in short, this is my third period of imprisonment in this jail; I will finish it in a few more months and get out. Having married away all my daughters I am now content. I will not come back here again. I will spend my last days with my wife. She knows now why I did it and she has reconciled herself to the will of God."

Lenin in 1920

Referring to this disgusting state of affairs in moribund capitalist society, as far back as in 1920 Lenin had said:

"The old society, was based on the principle: *rob or be robbed, work for others or make others work for you, be a slave-owner or a slave.* Naturally people brought up in such a society imbibe with their mother's milk, so to speak, the psychology, the habit, the concept: you are either a slave-owner or a slave, or else a small owner, a small employee, a small official, an intellectual—in short a man who thinks only of himself and doesn't give a hang for anybody else. If I work this plot of land I don't give a hang for anybody else; if others starve, all the better, the more I will get for my grain. If I have a job as a doctor, engineer, teacher

(Continued on page 21)



There is no illiteracy in the USSR and education has spread to the farthest corner of the land bringing culture and enlightenment to millions of former slaves of tsarism. The Asian nations of the USSR march shoulder to shoulder today with their Russian brothers.

At the ARLUS Congress in New Rumania

Suhasini Jambhekar

Great things are happening in Rumania. A united people is on the march. Another 15 million precious lives of men and women have been dedicated to the building of Socialism.

A New Land is Born

HAVING ejected the Hohenzolern Michael from the throne, confiscated the ill-gotten property of foreign monopoly interests and broken the back of reactionaries at home, 93% of the voters in the March 28th elections wrested state power from the hands of these exploiters and unequivocally declared for a People's Republic which stated in its Constitution that "*power proceeds from the people and is actually vested in the people.*" Go to a sitting of the Grand National Assembly. Whom will you find there? Not big landowners, speculators and sons of the rich. The members of this assembly are workers, peasants and outstanding intellectuals. You will find generals and men of the army sitting side by side with gaily costumed women, deputies from the Youth movement along with representatives of other nationalities living in Rumania. You will find them all, elected by the people and chosen from amongst themselves. "*Power proceeds from the people and is actually vested in the people*" is indeed a reality here.

The free men and women of the Rumanian People's Republic have taken their destiny firmly into their own hands. Through People's Councils, they take part in the administration of the State and learn to exercise and wield the

power they have won. To consolidate their victories and to raise their cultural and material standards they work and work very hard.

We have watched them in farms and factories, at construction sites, in the colleges and other centres of cultural activities. They plan, they build and fulfil and overfulfil their quotas. For their task ahead "is to liquidate Rumania's economic backwardness and transform it into an advanced industrial-agricultural country." (Resolution of the Rumanian Workers' Party Congress, 28th February, 1948.) On June 11, 1948 the bill of nationalisation, proposed by the Rumanian Workers' Party was enthusiastically accepted by the deputies of the Assembly, passed and immediately translated into action. *Thus, all the industries, mines, banks, insurance and transport companies passed into the hands of the people and became the property of the people.* The Rumanian people had now embarked on the path of planned economy, thereby creating the possibility of going over to Socialism.

Everywhere we went, we found the people conscious of the significance of what they were doing and why they were doing it. "Our country must first develop its heavy industry," they said. "We must have machines and other implements. We must produce enough

tractors, enough locomotives if we are to reach our goal." And, they are right. Work has become a matter of honour and the mastery of technique is no more the concern of the specialists only. Open a newspaper any day and you will read the names of workers who have invented and innovated new methods of work. Emulation campaigns are in full swing resulting in greater efficiency. On the streets, you will see gaily decorated lorries carrying youth brigades to all parts of the country to work on various national projects. Inspired by them others hurry along to join in this work of national importance.

And a New People Arise

WE shall never forget our visit to one such project—the Gheorgiu-Dej Railway Line from Bombasli to Livezeni, a distance of about 18 miles. Due to the kind hospitality of the railway workers, we, the delegates to the "ARLUS" (the All-Rumanian Friends of the Soviet Union) Congress were able to cover this line in a special train. As we sped along through tunnels and viaducts and over a number of bridges which spanned the lively Jui River—a river which has inspired many a young poet, craggy mountain heights on either side—we once again wondered at the creative power of man and what he won't do inspired by freedom!

Who had achieved this mighty work?—we asked and we had not long to wait for an answer. Our train slowed down and we could hear the voices of a hundred and more young people singing the song of the brigadiers lustily; we had reached Livezeni. A mass of young people, all between the ages of 16 to 20—perhaps 22—not a day more, stood on the platform in

serried ranks holding aloft a number of colourful banners. As the delegations stepped down to greet them, these young builders of a formidable project rent the air with slogans of international solidarity. The leader, Constantinescu Pavel, a handsome lad of 26, then joined us and boarded our train, for we were all bursting with questions which he had kindly promised to answer. *"There was nothing much to it,"* he said simply, *"the line was 27 kilometres in length. We had to hew out 37 tunnels and 124 viaducts. Bridges had also to be constructed. We promised to finish this work by the 7th of November. It is done. That's about all,"* he ended as simply. "But, when did you start your work?" I asked. "Seven months ago," he answered quietly. When saying "goodbye" he sat down for a minute with us and wrote out a message of greetings to the Indian Youth on behalf of the brigadiers of the National Construction Site "Gheorgieu-Dej" wishing them all success in their fight for freedom and against imperialist manoeuvres. We are proud to have held the hands of these young heroes, for they symbolised the new creative strength of the Young Rumanian People's Republic. Here was to be

found a new attitude towards labour developing all over the country. We could see how insatiable was their desire for knowledge of the world around them. They were gaining a new scientific outlook and conquering nature collectively.

From these young workers and peasants working in such close harmony would arise the new man of tomorrow, I thought, as our train moved on. The valleys resounded with their slogans. They spoke of friendship and solidarity with all progressive peoples fighting for liberty, democracy and a lasting peace. It was an unforgettable experience! Young Rumania was building confidently, joyfully without let or hindrance, while the blood of thousands was being shed in China, Greece and elsewhere.

The Red Army Brings Liberation

How has all this been possible? How have the Rumanian people been able to achieve all this within the short span of four years in a country which was the most backward in Europe populated by a down-trodden peasantry and with an economy pillaged, plundered and devastated by foreign capitalists and Nazis aided

and abetted by Rumanian monarchist Fascists? Ask any Rumanian this question; he will tell you with animation and conviction that undoubtedly the most decisive factor has been the help of the Soviet Union and its great leader Stalin, who not only helped them to regain their independence but were consistently helping them in every way to protect it.

"If it were not for the Soviet armies which smashed the Nazi hordes and entered Bucharest to liberate us, August 23rd, 1944 would not have been possible and we would still have been pawns in the hands of rapacious imperialist powers."

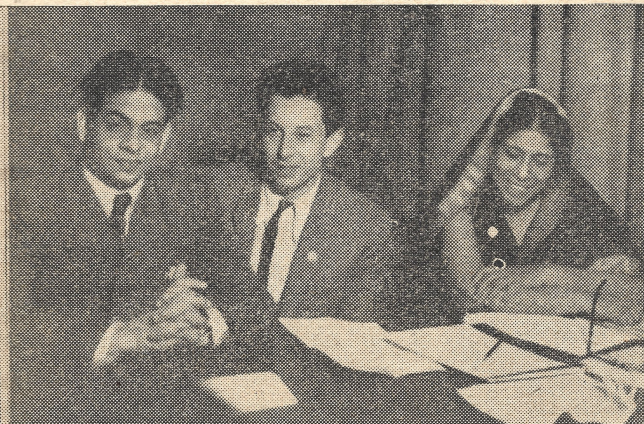
If one said it, a hundred of them said it, in one form or another—from the leaders down to every man.

"If it were not for the Soviet army that came into our country we would be in the same position as the people in Greece."

Not a word, not a sentence was ever uttered in any discussion, at any place, at any time by anyone without a warm tribute being paid to the Soviet Union and its great leader Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.



At the ARLUS (All-Rumanian Friends of the Soviet Union) Congress in Bucharest. A view of the Presidium. Amidst thunderous applause Stalin and Molotov were elected honorary members of the Presidium.



The Indian delegates R. M. Jambhekar, General Secretary of All India Friends of the Soviet Union and Smt. Suhasini Jambhekar with their interpreter. India was given big ovation at the Congress.

There is not a single branch of human endeavour in Rumania which does not draw its inspiration from 31 years of experience of the great land of the Soviet people. 300,000 copies of the History of the C. P. S. U. (B) have been sold, we are told by a publishing house, and a deep study is being made of all the Marxist-Leninist classics. "The demand for books on the Soviet Union, scientific and technical, is phenomenal", we hear at the ARLUS headquarters.

"Why should we plod along and make mistakes when we have the shining example of the U. S. S. R. before us?" they asked.

"She is our great friend and ally. Look at the way she helped us when our country went through a terrible drought immediately after the war. We were unable to deliver the goods agreed to in the armistice terms. She not only dispensed with the delivery but on the other hand helped us with a loan of wheat and maize so that we may be able to tide over our difficulties."

We remembered that not so long ago the Soviet Union had reduced by 50% the reparations due to her from Rumania.

"We have entered into trade agreement with the Soviet Union on a basis of equality. We are to receive a great supply of raw materials and machinery so that we may expand our industries and reequip our factories with modern machinery. Can that be said of the Marshall countries? On every front, the Soviet Union has fought for the sovereignty of all nations, big or small, and what you are seeing today could never have been possible if it were not for the existence of the Soviet State, friend and leader of all anti-imperialist democratic forces."

Rumanian F. S. U Meets in Congress

The second Congress of the ARLUS held on the 29th of October was not the congress of one organisation but of a whole people. The 7th of November week was a veritable festival of an entire people on the march.

We arrived from all parts of the world. Yakovlev headed the delegation from the Soviet, Grenier and Eluard—the great poet of the Maquis—came from France, Palermo from Italy, Ninno from Bulgaria, Prof. Dolansky from Czechoslovakia, Boulange from Belgium, Rev. Stanley Evans from England, Murray from Scotland, Betty Peltonen from Finland, Dr. Rusznyak Istvan from Hungary. We were all there to witness this week of the friendship of the peoples.

We were all impressed by the brilliant organisation of the ARLUS from the moment of our arrival to the last minute of our departure. The hospitality offered us is beyond praise. It seemed so natural to them to give the best of all they had, their very best for this occasion, the great holiday of all the working people throughout the world, the 31st anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution which marked a turning point in the history of mankind.

For days ahead, not only in Bucharest, but in every town and village, the people got busy beautifying their homes, their shops and streets and squares for the great festival. Large portraits of Marx Engels, Lenin and Stalin adorned every facade along with the portraits of their own beloved leaders. Ghergieu-Dej, Anna Pauker, Vasili Luca and others. The flags of the

Rumanian Republic and the Soviet Union flew proudly side by side.

At hundreds of Conferences delegates to the 2nd Congress were elected and we saw them 600 strong from every walk of life in the beautiful gilded hall of "Alhenul Roman" right opposite to the palace in which oppressor kings had once been able to play. The artists had done a great job. The decorations were simple. One large portrait of Stalin and a bust of Lenin embedded in red roses formed the centre piece. Portraits of Molotov and Shvernik hung



R. M. Jambhekar speaking at the ARLUS Congress

on the walls either side of the stage while portraits of the members of Government faced the dais. The atmosphere was both festive and serious. It was full of responsibility. For friendship with the Soviet Union is all this.

The members of the Government arrived. The foreign delegations entered. The proceedings began. 600 delegates—the entire body rose amidst thunderous applause to

elect Joseph Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov as honorary members of the Presidium. The Soviet Ambassador too was elected to the presidium. Then one by one the members of the Government ascended the tribune as the delegates with great acclamation elected them to the Presidium. The Soviet delegation had not been able to arrive in the time as they had been delayed by bad weather but they were expected in the afternoon.

India Gets an Ovation

After the speeches of President Parhon, Dr. Petr Groza, the Premier, the Soviet Ambassador and the Minister of Defence who had brought greetings from the General Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, Pantelci Ninno on behalf of Bulgarian delegation greeted the Congress. Second came India. R. M. Jambhekar in a few warm words greeted the Congress and the men and women of Rumania on behalf of the All-India Friends of the Soviet Union. The response was mighty and one could see and feel the warmth and affection these people have for the Indian people. France, Czechoslovakia, Britain, Belgium, Finland, Italy, Hungary, Switzerland, Scotland there were genuine cheers for one and all. We were united by the same cause, the cause of peace and friendship among nations.

During the recess, the members of the Presidium and the foreign delegations were able to meet and get to know each other. We had the opportunity of thanking President Parhon personally for his kind message to the *Indo-Soviet Journal* and had the privilege of being promised messages by Dr. Petr Groza, Mrs. Anna Pauker and Vasili Luca. The leadership of the ARLUS, Mr. Popescu Doreaneau,

the vice-President, Mr. Papapodopal, General Secretary, and Mrs. Sanda Rangez the Organising Secretary went about their work most unobtrusively and efficiently.

A young corporal,—23 years old in the uniform of the Rumanian People's Army, the youngest member of the Presidium,—and I became good friends. He told me that he was the son of a miner and had been a miner himself. He and many others had joined the army because it was now a people's army. He spoke with a mature youthfulness and the pride of a new type of soldier, a conscious citizen, opposed to all unjust wars of oppression, ready to stand on guard and in defence of peace. Ilie showed an immense interest in the problems of our country and seemed well informed about the essentials. He has addressed the youth in India through the pages of our journal and was very keen about developing friendship with our young people there. I was confident I told him that our youth would respond with pride.

The afternoon session opened with a fresh outburst of enthusiasm. Comrade Yaklovev, the Vice-President of VOKS and head of the Soviet delegation and a delegate from W. O. K. S. (Ukraine) stood up to the great Congress. The cheers were deafening. They were received with shouts of "Stalin! Stalin! Stalin!" to the accompaniment of rhythmic claps with the entire house rising.

On the 30th Comrade Leonte Rautu, a member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, leader of the Rumanian delegation to the Wrocław Congress of Intellectuals, opened the session with a two-hour speech on all aspects of Soviet life

and culture. He exposed ruthlessly the rottenness of the imperialist world and emphasised how the life and work of Lenin and Stalin had shown mankind the road to a new and higher civilisation. It was lucid, clear and listened to in pin-drop silence.

How they Look at their Work

We had now reached a very interesting part of the Congress. The delegates were to discuss the general report submitted by the Vice-President Doreaneau. When a call was given to those who wished to speak, secretaries of every branch—young army officers, teachers, miners, professors, peasants, women—the names of all these came pouring in. What did they have to say? Allow me to quote a few of them.

A young girl, 22: After speaking on methods of work adopted by her local branch she said: "In our country it is not enough to describe Soviet achievements only from the social-economic point of view. "We must give the political angle..." Further she criticised the editorial board for giving stale material necessitating a reference to the library for fresh material. "We are not satisfied with the journal," she ended emphatically.

A young worker: "The technical information available through our journal is very meagre. Our workers are more and more avidly demanding detailed material on each innovation in Soviet industry. This must be made available immediately", he demanded.

(Please see page 24)

The Student and the People

REPORT OF A STUDENT FROM LIBERATED CHINA

EXCLUSIVE

WE consider education to be a field of social struggle—it is put to service in the actual political, economic, and cultural struggles. We hold the opinion that there has never been a system of education which transcended the real struggle.

With this point of view as the basis, our university is run.

Before the Japanese surrender on September 15, 1945, resistance against Japanese imperialism was the urgent demand of the whole Chinese nation and its most important duty. So we taught our students the political, economic, cultural, and educational theories and working efficiency needed for the resistance against Japan, and then sent them out to various posts awaiting them. During the six years from 1939 to 1945, we sent out more than 10,000 students. At present, our goal of wiping out Chiang Kai-Shek's reactionary regime, opposing American imperialist aggression, striving for the nationwide victory of the people's revolutionary war, and building up a people's republic, has brought us new tasks: to train many more cadres for opening up and expanding new liberated areas, and rear up the political, economic, cultural, and educational workers needed for the construction of a New China. Again from 1946 up to now we have sent out nearly 2,000 students.

Two Types of Education

THE students here came from many different places, from every part of the country, from old and

new liberated areas. They come from various social strata, with different cultural (or rather educational) levels, political knowledge, and demands for study. But here they, all the same, receive the following two kinds of education.

The first is *ideological* (or thought) education. The aim of this is to help the students get rid of the ideological influences exerted by the way of living and education of old (semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic) China and to give them help in understanding the past and the present of the world as well as of China, and to know the people and also themselves. In this way a scientific outlook on the world and history is inculcated, which in turn leads them to the philosophy of life: to "*Serve the People*." This kind of education is given through: 1) the lessons in political classes (history of the development of society, history of the modern Chinese revolutionary movement, on New Democracy, reconstruction of Liberated Areas, etc.); 2) reports (or lectures) on specialized topics (about ideology and thought, and policies); 3) study of current events (reports on current events and discussions on them); 4) daily democratic life (life in small groups, and activities of students' union); 5) social activities and mass work among the local people and the land reform etc.; 6) labour towards production.

The second is *vocational education*. Since 1945 we have had altogether 12 departments of various colleges. The College of Arts and Literature consists of five department—literature, fine arts, music, drama and journalism, and also a working dramatic team; the College of

Education has three departments—education, Chinese, and history and geography, and it has opened a short term educational training class; the College of Foreign Languages has two departments—English and Russian. To go through vocational lessons means to have a good grasp of a branch of knowledge or technique in order to serve the people better.

We constantly uphold the principle of laying equal emphasis on *both* ideological and vocational education. If the ideological level of people is not raised and the philosophy of life of serving the people is not inculcated in them, then the vocational study will be divorced from the reality, from the needs of the people, thus losing its significance. Again if there is no specific vocational study and working capacity, then the motto of "Serve the People" will merely become empty words.

The keynote of our whole educational work is set by Mao Tse-tung's teaching. Following Mao Tse-tung means to ardently love the people and the truth, that is to fight for the people and the truth for the whole of our lives.

Two Main Principles of Education

IN our teaching and learning we adhere to the two main principles:

1) To connect (or supplement) theory with practice. The things we teach and learn are derived from the experiences gained in real struggles of various kinds; and we test what we learn by putting them into practice in our actual life and work. We also have well-made plans to let the students learn by doing practical work, such as land reform, mass work, and other social activities. At the same time our daily life, learning, labour and recreation, are themselves good education.

2) To combine individual study with collective study. Both in clearing up the doubts and obscurities in one's thinking and in pursuing vocational studies we emphasize the importance of one's own deliberation; at the same time we pay particular attention to organize collective study. Lessons, discussions on current events and other activities are prepared, planned or summarized at the meetings with all students attending. We consider every meeting a class of collective learning, and we make wide use of the weapon of mutual *criticism* and *self-criticism*, which greatly helps



MAO TSE-TUNG, leader and builder of New China

us become more progressive in every respect and to further strengthen our unity. Thus, here, the best students, who make rapid progress and get high marks are necessarily those who not only diligently read books and think carefully but are also humble or modest enough to learn from others and good enough to help others enthusiastically. Besides teaching in the class rooms, the more important duty of the teachers is to organize and instruct the students in their study and discussions.

A University in the Fields

OURS is a university that grew up in the countryside under war-time conditions; throughout the past nine years except a short period of 6 or 7 months, we have been persistently working and learning in the countryside. War-time hardships and rural conditions are the two salient features of the environment we work in. They have caused us no little difficulty and handicap; we lead an almost nomadic life, moving from one place to another and lacked materials so much that we had not even the bare necessities of life, to say nothing of good equipment. Owing to all this we cannot adhere to any strict system of work, study, etc. At the same time, however, we have profited by our adverse condition, in that we have thereby learned to better adapt ourselves to war-time environment persisting in our educational work and overcome the difficulties and meet the needs of life and work with our own hands. It also brought us into closer contact with the peasantry and gave us a better and more intimate knowledge of China's real social system.

During these nine years as regards the content and method of teaching and learning, the system of education and the relation between teachers and students, we have done away with the "prejudices" of old-styled universities.

Our ideological education has raised the students' political consciousness and made them, after a few months or at the most a year of education, accept the "Serve the People" philosophy of life, and to obey and perform the assignment given by the organization and to answer the needs of the work. On the vocational side we have made achievements which cannot be attained in the outside universities. In training

the cadres and elevating their capacities, in writing and compiling lessons, in setting up a school system, and in studying and improving the methods of teaching and learning, we have now made great strides forward so that our university is now at the threshold of becoming a new type, regular people's university and is getting ready to meet the needs of the new situation that would come with the approaching nation-wide victory of the Chinese people.

"Serve the People"

THE Chinese Communist Party is the people's party; the Liberation Army is the people's army; and the North China Associated University is meant for serving the people. The one-man-like unity between the people and us is the most reliable guarantee for victory, so our relation with the people is of paramount importance and pay utmost attention to it at any time and any place.

The first time we went to the country-side, every one of us learnt to sing the song of "Three major rules and 8 minor rules", (the famous rules of discipline of the 8th Route Army). All of us remembered well the strict rule: "Don't take away even a needle or thread belonging to the people", and if anyone carelessly broke this rule, he would be severely criticized at once.

At the beginning of our arrival in the newly liberated area, the people or rather peasants or civilians, having been duped by the reactionary Kuomintang anti-Communist propaganda for many years, could not understand us, and sometimes did not even lend us some utensils or other things to use. However, every day we swept their yards, carried water for them, and did not touch anything of theirs without their knowledge and permission.

(Continued on page 28)

From the Treasurehouse of Leninism.

Imperialism, Socialism and the Liberation of Oppressed Nations.

IMPERIALISM is the highest stage of development of capitalism. Capital in the advanced countries has outgrown the boundaries of national states. It has established monopoly in place of competition, thus creating all the objective prerequisites for the achievement of socialism. Hence in Western Europe and in the United States of America, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat—for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, is on the order of the day.

Imperialism is forcing the masses into this struggle by sharpening class



Lenin — a Sketch

antagonisms to an immense degree, by worsening the conditions of the masses both economically—trusts and high cost of living, and politically—growth of militarism, frequent wars, increase of reaction, strengthening and extension of national oppression and colonial plunder.

Victorious socialism must achieve complete democracy and consequently, not only bring about the complete equality of nations, but also give effect to the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to free political secession. Socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities now, as well as during the revolution and after its victory, that they will free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union—and a free union is a lying phrase without right to secession—such parties are committing treachery to socialism.

March 1916.

* * *

India is awake

IN India the native slaves of the “civilised” British capitalists have recently been causing their masters a lot of unpleasantness and disquietude. There is no end to the violence and plunder which is called British Rule in India.....

But the Indian masses are beginning to come out into the streets in defence of their native writers and political leaders. The despicable sentence the English jackals passed on the Indian democrat, Tilak (he was sentenced to a long term of exile, and in reply to a question in the House of Commons it was revealed that the Indian jurymen voted for acquittal, whereas the conviction was passed by the votes of the English jurymen!). This act of vengeance against a democrat on the part of the lackeys of the

moneybags, gave rise to street demonstration and a strike in Bombay. And the Indian proletariat too has already matured sufficiently to wage a class-conscious and political mass struggle—and that being the case Anglo-Russian methods in India are played out.

Inflammable Material in
World Politics, 1908.

* * *

An Army of Free Labour.

IN every socialist revolution—and consequently in the Socialist Revolution in Russia which we began on October 25, 1917—the principal task of the proletariat and of the poorest peasantry which it leads, is the positive or creative work of setting up an extremely intricate and subtle system of new organisation relationship extending to the planned production and distribution of goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people. Such a revolution can be successfully carried out only if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the toilers, display independent historical creative spirit.

April 28, 1918.

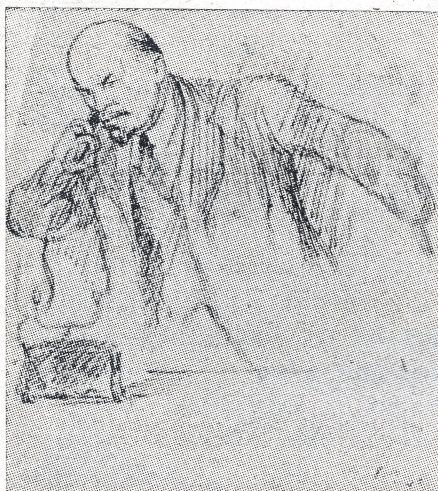
* * *

In the old society work was carried on by separate families, and nobody united their labour except the land lords and capitalists, who oppressed the masses of the people. We must organise all labour, no matter how dirty and arduous it may be, in such a way that every worker and peasant may say: I am a part of the great army of free labour, and I can build up my life without the landlords and capitalists, I can establish the Communist system.

October 1920.

Art Belongs to the People.

THE Revolution is liberating all the forces which have been held back, and is driving them up from the depths to the surface. In a society based on private property the artist produces goods for the market, he needs buyers. Our revolution has lifted the pressure of



Remember, love and study, Lenin, our teacher and leader.

Fight and vanquish the enemies, internal and foreign—as Lenin taught us.

Build the new existence, the new culture—as Lenin taught us.

Never refuse to do little things for from little things are built the big things—this is one of Lenin's important behests.

J. STALIN, in a letter published in "Robachaya Gazeta" on the first anniversary of Lenin's death.

this most prosaic state of affairs from the artists. It has made the Soviet state their protector and patron. Every artist, and everybody who wishes to, can claim the right to create freely according to his ideal, whether it turn out good or not. And so you have the ferment, the experiment, the chaos. Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad

mass of workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts and desires. It must arouse and develop the artist in them.

In a talk with Klara Zetkin, 1920.

* * *

Self Criticism.

THE attitude of a political party to its mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party and of its fulfilment in practice of its obligations to its class and the masses of working people. Openly to admit error, to reveal its causes, to analyse the situation that gave rise to it, attentively to discuss the means of correcting the error—this is the sign of a serious party. This is the fulfilment by it of its obligations, this is training and educating the class, and then the masses.

* * *

The Red Army.

Whenever I ponder over the tasks of our army and Red Officers, I recall an incident I witnessed in the train on the Finland Railway Station not so very long ago.

I noticed that the people around me were smiling at something an old woman was saying, and I asked to have her words translated. This Finnish woman was comparing the old soldiers with the revolutionary soldiers, and she said that where as the former protected the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the latter protected the poor. "Formerly the poor man had to pay heavily for every stick of wood he took without permission," the old woman said. "But when you meet a soldier now—adays he'll give you a hand with your bundle of faggots. You don't have to fear the man with the gun any more," she said.

In my opinion it would be hard to imagine any higher tribute to the Red Army than this.

November 26, 1918.

GREETINGS FROM ARLUS

The All-India Friends of the Soviet Union have received the following cable from the Executive Committee of the General Leading Council of the Rumanian Association for Friendly Relations with the U. S. S. R.—ARLUS.

"On the occasion of the New Year 1949 please accept our warmest wishes of good success in the activity you develop for the strengthening of friendly bonds between your people and the great Soviet Union, the leader of the world front fighting for a lasting peace and for democracy."

The following reply has been sent to ARLUS :

Please accept our warm thanks for your inspiring message on the New Year Day.

Friends of the Soviet Union in India have great admiration for the work your organisation is doing in Rumania, reports of which we have received from our General Secretary and Smt. Suhasini Jambhekar who attended your Congress as our delegates.

We in India pledge to do our bit to make the truth about the USSR and about the New Democracies of East Europe, known to our people. We pledge to work untiringly for friendship with the great Soviet Union and the New Democracies who lead the fight for peace and socialism in the world.

Please accept our best wishes for fruitful work and our confidence that the New Year will bring new victories to your great organisation in the lofty task of building Soviet-Rumanian friendship.

U. S. S. R. and Indonesian Struggle

(Continued from page 4)

According to the "World London News and Views" foreign investments in Indonesia before the war amounted to 4,000 million florins (500 million pounds sterling). Of this 2,600 million florins represented Dutch Capital, 370 million British and 240 million American, the rest being mainly German, Italian and Japanese. *Since the end of the war however, American interests have greatly increased.*

Together with the Dutch American monopolies are today the principal owners of the rich natural resources of Indonesia. "Five hundred oil wells in Sumatra belong to Rockefeller's Standard Oil. The United States Rubber Company and the Goodrich Rubber Company each own plantations of 200,000 acres. Since the end of the war with Japan other American monopolies have bought from the Dutch rich tin mines and acquired new oil fields in Sumatra, Borneo, and New Guinea and nickel mines in Celebes" (New Times, March 10, 1948.)

Thus Americans had a big stake in the retention of the colonial status of Indonesia. The bankers of Wall Street struck a deal with the Dutch, at the expense of the life and blood of the Indonesians. *While the British "lent" their soldiers, America sent arms to the Dutch. With the help of a loan of \$ 300,000,000 received in 1945-46 the Dutch formed and equipped a 100,000 strong army for their colonial war. Marshall aid flows unchecked to Holland even today. With American help the Dutch launched a new treacherous attack in the summer of 1947.*

The Renville Betrayal

THE Soviet and Polish representatives in the Security Council repeatedly demanded in the Security Council adoption of urgent measures to stop Dutch aggression. They recommended, as a minimum, *that the troops of both sides be withdrawn to the positions they occupied before the summer hostilities began.* Their recommendation was turned down by the combined votes of the USA, Britain, France, Belgium and China. Nevertheless, the strong pressure of public opinion forced the Security Council on August 1, 1947 to adopt a resolution ordering the suspension of hostilities in Indonesia. *Another Soviet proposal, that the Security Council should appoint a commission to control the suspension of hostilities by both parties was rejected by the votes of the imperialist powers.* The deadlock was exploited by America, on whose recommendation a "good offices" committee composed of representatives of the USA, Australia and Belgium was set up. This committee disregarded the U. N. Charter and the decisions of the Security Council and while acting under the name of the UNO, from the very beginning executed a policy which favoured the Dutch and the Americans. *While it argued, the Dutch with the help of American tanks seized fresh Indonesian territory until most vital areas fell in their hands.* In January 1948 it brought pressure on the Republic and made it sign the humiliating Renville Agreement by which the Indonesian archipelago was to be divided into two, leaving the Republic economically and strategically minor areas. Not content with this the Committee made the Republic accept a Dutch ultimatum, providing for the incorporation of the Republican territory also into a "United States

of Indonesia" under the Dutch crown, thus paving the way for the final reconquest of Indonesia by colonial imperialism.

The Ill-deeds of "Good Offices" Committee.

THE Renville agreement struck a blow at the very existence of the Republic by dividing it against itself and leading to the resignation from the Government of the Left Bloc. The Soviet representatives in the U. N. denounced the treachery of the Anglo-Americans who under the guise of mediation and "good offices" had practically handed back Indonesia to colonial rule and given this base act the stamp of U. N. approval. The Soviet Union refused to recognise the Renville agreement and continued to insist on the withdrawal of Dutch troops to the old lines. Speaking on this proposal in February 1948 Gromyko, USSR delegate said: "We believe that only by adopting that proposal can we create the conditions for a just solution of the problem, both in the interest of the Indonesian people and in the interest of the United Nations." *But the Soviet proposals were again turned down.*

The American-sponsored Good Offices Committee had succeeded in handing over Indonesia on a platter to the Dutch colonists. The Dutch were greatly emboldened now. According to an Aug. 26, 1948 report from Andrew Roth, an American correspondent, a Dutch spokesman told a correspondent that "shortly a predominantly Indonesian (but pro-Dutch) Interim Government will be established and the problem of settling with

(Continued on page 27)

SYED ABDULLA BRELVI

ON the evening of Sunday, January 9, 1949 Syed Abdulla Brelvi, Vice-President of the All-India Friends of the Soviet Union and President of the Bombay F. S. U. died after a severe heart attack earlier on the same day. The Friends of the Soviet Union deeply mourn his loss.

Mr. Brelvi had been the President of the Bombay F. S. U. for many years and had been elected a Vice-President of the A.I.F.S.U. at the First AIFSU Congress held in Bombay in June 1944. He played an active and prominent role in convening this congress.

The whole country and especially this city of Bombay where Mr. Brelvi worked as editor of "The Bombay Chronicle" for the last many years—mourns in his death the loss of a veteran journalist, a quiet and unassuming political leader and above all an honest and sincere man.

Though his illness prevented him from taking an active part in the F.S.U. movement, Syed Abdulla Brelvi always found the time to meet Bombay F. S. U. workers, discuss with them their affair and never failed to send a message of goodwill and wholehearted support on all important occasions. His last appearance on the F.S.U. platform was in October 1948 when he presided at the opening of the exhibition "Thirty Years of the Land of the Soviets". Mr. Brelvi was the President of the Exhibition Committee of prominent citizens formed to organise this grand exhibition sent to the Friends of the Soviet Union in India by the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS).

EVERYONE knows that after August 15th 1947 many prominent people in our country renounced their formerly professed ideals of belief in progress and struggle for a social system which will give their due to the common people of our land who are the creators of all our wealth; there were not a few who renounced their long professed friendship with the Socialist Soviet Union and exchanged for it friendship with the Anglo-American imperialists. Being associated with organisations like Friends of the Soviet Union was no longer the fashion. These people attacked Syed Abdulla Brelvi—a prominent and universally respected Congressman—time and again for continuing to remain in our organisation, calling upon him in the name of "patriotism" to resign. Mr. Brelvi however did not oblige these "patriotic" gentlemen. He had said in November 1945 greeting the Soviet Revolution anniversary:—

"The world looks to Russia more than to any other great power for the most effective destruction of every trace of imperialism from every part of the world."

He did not consider it to be honest, whatever the "expediency" to go back on what he had himself said and did not calculate whether it was "profitable" to continue remaining in the organisation which had honoured him by electing him its Vice-President and President of its Bombay branch.

It was only a week before his tragic end that the Secretary of Bombay F.S.U. had discussed with him the plan for calling another Bombay F.S.U. Conference and received his approval.

T. KANNAN

ON December 26, 1948 the FSU movement lost an active organiser whose young life was cut short by a cruel railway accident.

Syt. T. Kannan had been working in the AIFSU office, lately as the Circulation Manager of this journal for many months past. Quiet and persevering, he had endeared himself to all his colleagues in the AIFSU office and the Bombay F. S. U. To all those who knew him and to the FSU family in particular his most unexpected end at the young age of 26 came as a cruel blow.

As a mark of tribute to his memory offices of the FSU remained closed for a day. His colleagues have pledged in his name to carry forward the work that was so dear to him.

To his parents, to his brothers and sisters, we send our most heartfelt condolence

The Friends of the Soviet Union in Bombay paid their last tribute to the memory of their departed President in a condolence statement they jointly issued with the AIFSU on Monday, January 10. Offices of the AIFSU and the three Bombay FSU branches remained closed for a day as a mark of respect to his memory.

LETTER TO AN ENGLISH INTELLECTUAL

Courtesy "New Statesman & Nation"

Dear—

We met, you will remember, shortly before the Congress of Intellectuals recently held at Wroclaw. We fell to talking about the Third Force, and I promised to let you have some observations, not necessarily about the Third Force but about problems and ideas contingent to that concept as seen through the eyes of a man of African origin. Since then we have both been to Wroclaw. To help you to understand much of what that meant to me and what I am now trying to say, I shall begin with two illustrations.

The first concerns a trip I made to Africa some twelve years ago when, as a missionary of the Church of England, I went to the Gambia. I lodged with a Welsh colleague, like myself newly arrived, in the same house as the bishop. One day the chief magistrate of the Colony called. The bishop asked the servant to bring some drinks, and the man brought in whisky and four glasses. The bishop, who knew his Africa, excused himself and went to dress for evening. My Welsh colleague poured two glasses of whisky, gave one to the visitor, turned his back on me, and drank, "Cheers, Judge!"

The second illustration concerns the occasion when we first met. I accompanied some African musicians who had been invited to play at the Polish embassy. When we reached Portland Place, a charming lady came to the door with outstretched hand. "So glad you could come," she said, "we've been waiting supper for you."

These incidents embody for me two divergent attitudes to life. The one brings out the best in me; ever since that night, whenever I think of Poland I think of a rose-garden. The other dries me up in furious hatred; I see countries of subordination and despair studded with the death-camps of Fascism. As between these I must take sides.

WE met again at Wroclaw and there heard great argument "about it and about", and I, for one, did not come out by the same door as in I went. Some of my personal observations on Wroclaw might perhaps interest you. I could, for instance, tell you how glad I was to know that there *are* Americans with *white* skins and liberal minds. I could tell you how honoured I felt when Ilya Ehrenburg invited me to stay with him whenever I came to Moscow. But of that in another place. Here I can only indicate the main lesson Wroclaw taught me. There I learnt to look on peace, not as a period of rest between armed clashes, but as a constant struggle to establish and maintain certain human values. These human values I would frame in the English version of an old Hebrew poem; "That may stand the lord of the earth, crowned with glory and worship. To *every* man the worship and the glory."

This thesis the Russians and all the Slav nations stated with the passionate urgency of men who had been recently overrun in one armed conflict, men seized of a desperate

anxiety to avoid such another experience for all time. But this anxiety was but the shading of a philosophy which wanted to use man's life and time for building and, in building, to build gloriously.

AND then I came to Warsaw. But before I leave Wroclaw let me tell you here of the most touching experience I had in that town. There was a special train for those of us who wanted to go to the capital by rail. I was stumbling along with a rather clumsy hand trunk when a lad of about sixteen stepped from among the crowd at the entrance to the station and took it from my hand. With memories of London, Birmingham, Manchester, I at once began feeling about me for small change. The bag was heavy, but the lad bore it sturdily along till we found a compartment right at the end of the platform. Even here when I moved to take it from him, he insisted on bringing it right inside the carriage. There, giving me his hand, he said: "I am a Jew."

I was to know what he meant when I had seen Warsaw and, in Warsaw, the Ghetto. I am not yet prepared, emotionally, to assess Warsaw and the horror that lies behind it. The Ghetto is this horror acted precisely and with ruthless determination to a conclusion. Lable men vermin and destroy them. One does not harbour vermin. The agents of this horror are men. Any intelligent person who does not share their point of view must help to quarantine them. You English have not in recent centuries known what it is to be a subject people. I come from a group which in recent centuries has known little else. And I know that the race theory is humbug.

If you want proof that it is humbug, cross the Irish Sea to the Six Counties and you will find that when men have no moral justification for their crimes they will invent one. Any Irishman would tell you the same, and few Englishmen know that the Portuguese, their oldest allies in Europe, are in the British West Indies definitely not "European"—because some eighty years ago or more the Portuguese were brought in to do work which Negroes refused to do on the plantations. But after Warsaw I cannot be content with dismissing the dangerous and infectious principle of race as humbug. I know that wherever I meet it, whether in white, yellow, brown or black, I must fall upon it and destroy it.

FOR me the most disturbing characteristic of the human mind is the ease with which it slides into habits—bad habits, *where circumstances permit*. Ten years ago the average man would have recoiled in horror from the thought of using the atom bomb against other men. Today millions of us discuss its use as though it were only another firework. Race-superiority is among many peoples a commonplace. Like leprosy it is very contagious. The twist the Nazis gave to it in the death-camps of Maidanek and Auschwitz may prove equally contagious.

None of your business? Well, it is very much mine, and I will show you why. When Hitler called Negroes semi-apes he was expressing in his half-baked way only part of what we had experienced at the hands of every European nation which had contact with Africa. In Western Europe today even among the most advanced groups we do not quite belong.

Even among some of our friends on the Left we are not comrades—but colonial comrades. Now let us be frank. You know the power of words. Words can tarnish or elevate. The word "colonial" tarnishes. I am nobody's colonial. I am an African. That gives status, opens up endless vistas of struggle and achievement. "Colonial" throws me back to centuries of subordination and inferiority.

AT Wroclaw I heard great talk of freedom: freedom to go from one country to another. In *The New Statesman and Nation* of September 18, I read of Malays, Japanese, Negroes, ignominiously expelled from or refused entrance to Australia. Why? Their skins are not white. Hitler depopulated whole areas to provide living space for his Herrenvolk. White Australia is no less Fascist in concept and in practice. I refrain from quoting South Africa. A cesspool needs no advertisement.

"Everything's in flux," as the old Greek said, and nothing so much as blood, and not always by the sword. Ask the countless Americans, White Americans, who shudder to examine the woodpile of their family tree about this. However, every dominant race has been concerned to prevent its bastardisation. The so-called Anglo-Saxons are specially concerned about becoming a bastard race (By the way, why is this? Is it the thought of taking coals to Newcastle?) So we find that in thirty-eight of the United States of America marriage with a Negro is by law forbidden. In certain areas of that country this phallic obsession imposes the unofficial sanction of death—for the black man—for a breach of sexual good taste. In Kenya, this sanction is by law esta-

blished for the same offence. The Germans in Poland shot male Poles for similar errors of judgment; Polish women cohabiting with the master-race were sent to brothels.

That is Fascism: inside Europe, outside of Europe.

"But these things don't happen here," I can hear you say. No, not in London—yet. And it is because I do not want the infection to spread to places from it, because I want to push it back and root it out from places where it is now entrenched, that I am concerned to choose—that Africans are concerned to choose. I know that in England, too, there are flowers to be found—flowers of courtesy, delicacy and fine feeling. I treasure these as much as if they were African, because they are human. And it is because I know that these would be the first to be crushed by the boot of the Fascist that I look to Englishmen and others who share my point of view for assistance in stemming the leprosy of class and race supremacy as it applies to me. You see, I could not fight for white Australia, I could not fight White South Africa, nor could I fight to keep a country safe where Negroes may be lynched.

IT is a very mean slave who rivets his own chains. When I see "democratic" leaders restoring to power the same race-hating criminals of Germany who would shoot Paul Robeson for being a Negro and Henry Wallace for associating with Paul Robeson. I know that we stand in opposite camps. And when I hear them abusing Russia and the New Democracies because they will not aid his vile oppression of class and race, but rather, bring their strength to end it, then I know where to look for my friends.

(See page 28)

Life of a Woman Collective Farmer

PAGES FROM KOLKHOZ LIFE

—By Pasha Angelina. "Soviet Literature" No. 10—1948.

THE name of Pasha Angelina is well known to Friends of the Soviet Union as the first woman tractor driver and the initiator of a movement for woman to take over arduous tasks which were once considered man's sole monopoly. Indeed, her fame has reached even across the Atlantic. Recently the editors of an American "Who's Who", wishing to include her in their list, sent her a questionnaire mainly about her personal life: how many dresses she had and how many pairs of shoes she wore, etc.

Pages from Kolkhoz Life is the story of Pasha Angelina. In it we are not initiated into the secrets of her wardrobe; nor are we told the size of her shoes. It is the story of an ordinary peasant girl, fired by a new patriotism for her Socialist fatherland, and her endeavour, as she puts it, "to get down to the fat of the soil and give my country heaps of golden grain." Her struggle is guided by the country's leaders, by the Soviet government, by Stalin himself. It soon takes gigantic proportions and becomes a vast movement. In 1930 Pasha was the only girl tractor driver. *In 1939 there were two hundred thousand of her like in the Soviet Union.*

During war time, her brigade, evacuated to distant Kazakhstan, brings in a harvest six times the pre-war best. Their reward—twenty tons of grain—they donate to the Red Army. The grateful nation through its leader, Stalin, sent them warm thanks.

"Peace hath its victories no less than war." Nowhere is this so true as in the Soviet Union. Back in harness at her old collective farm in the Donetz basin, Pasha creates new records and is awarded the title of "Hero of Socialist Labour."

Pasha Angelina's life is the life of an innovator, a trailblazer, an ardent fighter for a better life. Yet it is typical of the Soviet people, a hero people, whose struggle for a better existence from the days of Churchill's infamous "March of the Fourteen Nations" to the inglorious end of Hitler's hordes, is an inspiration to every true patriot. It is typical of a people who have produced the great Stakhanov Movement, the hundreds of "Heroes of Socialist Labour"—a nation that within the short span of three years rebuilt life on a higher and grander scale on half a continent that had suffered from the worst savages mankind had ever experienced. *In Pasha Angelina's life we see the struggle of the Soviet people for a richer fuller life and the triumph of this struggle.*

E. S. Dongerkery.

TRUTH ABOUT BRITISH SOCIALISM By A. Leonidov. People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay. Price: Annas Four.

A Socialist India is the dream of us all. Almost all political leaders claim to be fighting for it, and a good many of them regard the British Labour Party as a "socialist" party introducing socialism in Britain through "democratic" means.

This booklet examines the truth of this "socialism". The author, a well-known Soviet writer, reveals facts and figures (all based on official or unimpeachable sources) about the nationalisation of industry in Britain. He shows that the British Labour Party has "nationalised" only those industries which were no longer "profitable" for the private owners. The iron and steel industry which is the backbone of any scheme of nationalisation has been strictly left alone so far, and now when the Labour Party leaders have raised the issue of its nationalisation at last, a declaration has been made that it will not be "nationalised" before May 1st, 1950—the eve of the next General Elections!

But what is more amazing and significant is the fact that all "nationalised" industries, without exception, are being run, managed and controlled by the direct nominees and representatives of the biggest monopoly concerns. The ex-owners have the privilege of not only running their concerns but also of getting paid by the "Socialist" government for doing so.

The author also analyses the "reasons" for this "strange" policy. He shows how the Labour Party leadership is undergoing a metamorphosis. Men like Attlee and Bevin are no longer only the ideological champions of capitalist order, they have become partners and share-holders in the monopoly concerns. *They have a personal stake in the capitalist economy.* The line between the Labour Party leadership and the Conservatives is getting blurred. This has an ominous significance for the British people. It has significant lessons for our people too.

Madan Bakaya

FIVE WEEKS IN USSR

(Continued from page 7)

or clerk, I don't give a hang for anybody else. Perhaps if I toady to and please the powers that be, I shall keep my job and even get on in my life, and become a bourgeois. A communist cannot have such a psychology and such sentiments." (From speech to the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League, October 2, 1920.)

The Soviet people cannot have such a psychology and such sentiments for the simple reason that in their country "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all", for the simple reason that the Soviet people to-day live and build in a society without class antagonisms.

"In our country" said Molotov on the 31st anniversary of the Soviet Revolution on November 6, 1948, "all are workers; there are no idlers or parasites, nor should there be. It is sometimes said abroad that by dislodging these gentry from their nests we acted not quite democratically. But the results have not proved to be bad. Just because we are a state of working people where there is no room for idlers or parasites we today constitute a closely knit multi-national labouring family and at the same time, a strongly-organised, mighty and invincible army."

Dissemination of Knowledge

The Soviet Socialist civilisation has not only swept away all the social impediments that vitiated the spiritual integrity of man at each stage of his development, but has also created the material conditions that will enable man to rise to

his full stature: it has put the sum total of all knowledge accumulated by mankind, knowledge that is the monopoly of the privileged few in the pre-Socialist world, at the disposal of all without exception.

In Moscow, and the other places we visited in the Soviet Union, we were able to gather a great deal of first-hand evidence to warrant this conclusion. I will but refer to just two aspects of this evidence.

Take the field of education.

The number of children receiving education in primary and secondary schools in the Czarist empire in 1913 was 7.8 millions. Within but twenty years of Soviet rule this number rose to 29.4 millions as a result of the introduction of universal, compulsory and free elementary education up to the completion of the 7th grade (roughly matriculation). Under Soviet conditions this education really became universal. And today, despite the fiendish destruction and unheard of suffering caused by the war, this number stands at 34 millions. The number of students receiving university education rose from 120,000 in 1913 to 551,000 in 1937 and stands today at 1,000,000! Inside three years from the end of the devastating war the 1940 level has already been surpassed in the field of education.

Or take libraries, that barometer of a regime's solicitude for the dissemination of knowledge among the people.

It is well known that the Soviet Union has more libraries than any other country in the world. It is not, however, very well-known how wide is the gulf that demarcates the USSR from the richest of the capitalist countries, in this

sphere. On the eve of the late war there was one library for every 2,197 inhabitants in the USSR, and today, at the end of 1948, there are 250,000 libraries, which works out to one library for less than 800 inhabitants! How does America fare in this respect? In the United States the proportion today is one library for every 20,330 inhabitants!

The total number of books and volumes, apart from thousands of periodicals, in the Soviet libraries, is 500 millions! Unlike the capitalist countries all these libraries are open to the public free of charge: and they are managed by 300,000 specially trained librarians, apart from thousands of qualified assistants, who are active disseminators of knowledge among the masses. At Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and several places there are special high schools to train librarians, apart from middle schools and courses to train assisting staffs for libraries.

How does Britain fare so far as the calibre and training of library staffs is concerned?

In the *Manchester Guardian* of May 5th, 1948 appeared the following revealing report:

"A picture of library staffs who begin their duties knowing nothing about books, and who learn little afterwards, was given to the conference of the Library Association today by Mr. F. M. Gardner, Luton's Borough Librarian, in a talk about the problems of the urban areas.

"Urging that the training of staffs was a vital need he said: 'I know of no library in this country which systematically trains in book-knowledge and tries to make the knowledge a primary qualification. I know of assistants who have nothing but a hear-say knowledge of any modern novelist of repute,

and who would be quite incapable say, of assessing the comparative importance of Beverly Nichols and Pandit Nehru as authorities on Indian affairs.'

"None of the thousand and odd delegates contradicted these views expressed by Mr. Gardner."

The Lenin Library

We had the privilege of visiting the biggest of the Soviet libraries, the library named after the immortal founder of the Soviet State, in Moscow. Situated on a small hillock near the Kremlin, this library has two huge buildings—one an old one, and the other a modern structure of steel and concrete, and the principle shrine of the knowledge accumulated by mankind. There is an underground electric trolley line, half a kilometre in length, that conveys books and documents from the old building to the new, as they are required, and back again. There are no less than 12 million books and volumes in this giant library. Stretched out in a row its book-shelves would be 300 kilometres long, roughly the distance between Bombay and Sholapur!

These books and volumes are shelved on eighteen floors connected by a network of lifts and tube systems. The order for a book goes automatically along the tubes to the exact floor that has the book and within a few minutes the required book comes to the reader through another automatic, vertical conveyor system.

The library has twelve separate reading rooms, the last word in comfort for readers, which are open to the public from 8 in the morning to midnight. 1,200 readers can work at a time in these reading rooms. But this accommodation



Inside a library in a Soviet village. The USSR has one library for every 800 of its population as compared to 1 for every 20,330 in the U.S.A.

is obviously inadequate for Soviet Moscow. We saw a large queue waiting at the main entrance to the reading rooms! A queue for a reading room! The new reading room building which was under construction will accommodate 2,500 readers at a time.

Three of the present reading rooms are used exclusively by research workers in the exact and applied sciences, three for scientists in humanities, one for current periodicals, one for reference books (which alone number 33,000!) one exclusively for librarians, one for young readers, one devoted entirely to the study of manuscripts (of which the library has over 2 million pages!) and still another for small children of eight and on, which was opened during the war. There are 60,000 special attractive books for children. Famous children's writers visit this room and meet children. They take children's criticisms and suggestions before printing their books. Side by side with Russian children we saw Kazak, Uzbek, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and children of many

other nationalities, in this picturesque reading room.

During the year 1947 one million and two hundred thousand readers made use of the library. It is the largest in the world in the number of readers. Apart from the readers in Moscow itself it has got millions of subscriber-readers all over the Soviet Union. In order to further enlarge its giant circle of readers the library has opened a special department to make microfilms of books and documents needed for reference by various types of research workers. During the first few months of 1948 nearly 1,500,000 pages from a number of valuable books were microfilmed and made available in small rolls to the farflung army of Soviet research workers.

Further, any desired book from the remotest corners of the USSR, and even from beyond the borders of the USSR, is made available by this library to its readers. The main libraries of the USSR have virtually unlimited funds at their disposal for buying foreign books.

The Lenin Library purchases from England and America copies of every book considered of importance. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that for every book that was bought for British libraries in the USSR between 1918-1945, no less than fifteen British books were bought in England by the Soviet libraries, although the number of titles published annually in the USSR is roughly two and a half times of those published in England!

The library regularly attends to thousands of demands for books that pour in from factories, mills, state and collective farms, schools and colleges, and several other institutions.

One hundred and fifty languages are represented in the library's collections, eighty-five nationalities within USSR. We found most of the major languages in India represented in the oriental section of the library. A casual glance at one of the tables showed us a couple of works of Surendra Mohan Tagore and Iswarachandra Vidyasagar. A small book titled 'Rajbali' published in 1088 in India was there on the table too.

The library has a staff of over 200 expert bibliographers of various specialities whose knowledge and experience guides all the readers. More than 700 of its total staff of 1,500 study at its higher bibliographical courses, in seminars, foreign language groups, at courses training librarians, postgraduate courses and by correspondence at the State Library and Bibliographical Institute.

The Library further organises big exhibitions in one of its halls for the benefit of its readers. We saw a magnificent exhibition on the Revolution of 1848 in France.

The exhibition covered a period of hundred years and showed French society and classes as they lived before and after the Revolution. A whole section was devoted to political caricatures of the period. The original editions of the famous *Manifesto of Marx and Conditions of the Working Class in England* by Engels, were prominently featured. The aim of these Lenin Library exhibitions is to throw further light on history and to encourage a study of the contribution of each period in the history of mankind.

The library also organises regular lectures in Russian on contemporary foreign literature for those who know only Russian.

The library was kept open throughout the trying days of the war without fail.

We were taken round the library by Mme. Klara Rafailovna Kamyanskaya, the vice-chairman of the library and Comrade Mark Mitrofanovich Klevenky, the librarian who had lost his right arm in the Battle of Moscow. Both of them are well-known research workers in history with several works to their credit.

The Pride and Glory

"The pride and glory of a public library should be discerned in the broad circulation of its books among the people"—said Lenin. This giant library named after him not only made this its motto but has carried it out, and will continue to carry it out, on a wider and wider scale, with each new anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Lenin Library is of course the biggest, but all the same it is just one of the 250,000 libraries in the USSR.

Common People Read World Classics

This is but a small part of the USSR's organisation for the dissemination of knowledge among the people. Is there any wonder then that we found our chauffeur reading a novel by Victor Hugo and the woman attendant in the Savoy Hotel reading Lermontov?

The Soviet Union has not only made spiritual integrity and material prosperity go hand in hand but has also made spiritual integrity and knowledge go hand in hand for she has put knowledge at the disposal of the people and harnessed it in the service of the people. That is why culture, which is spiritual integrity plus the creative harnessing of knowledge, attains the highest stature known to mankind only in the USSR.

"From each according to his ability to each according to his needs" will therefore be a reality, not only with regard to the needs of the body but also with regard to needs of the spirit. Man does not live by bread alone. But the capitalist civilisation starves him even of bread. The Socialist civilisation of the USSR gives him an abundance of bread plus the highest culture.

Such is the secret of the material and moral prowess of the Soviet people that enabled them to trample the fascist enemies of freedom and culture to dust. This is the secret that explains why the Soviet people "stand for creation instead of destruction, for peace instead of war, for freedom instead of slavery."

—To be Continued

The ARLUS Congress

(Continued from page 11)

A student from a University town in Transylvania: "We have to fight chauvinism in our branch. The Soviet Union is a model for the solution of the national problem. Our national problem can be solved on the basis of socialism. Due to our work through the ARLUS the Hungarian and Rumanian University students are working harmoniously.....The ARLUS must build ideological unity so that the actives don't talk a different language as far as an approach to basic problems is concerned."

A woman delegate: "I feel that the women are not participating in the movement as they should. It is urgent that we draw them in larger numbers into our organisation. The talk of the struggle for peace without the support of women is monstrous. Women are keeping away not because they are not interested but because we have not made a serious approach. The example of the U.S.S.R. ought to teach us the importance of the participation of women in ARLUS activities."

A peasant: "I am convinced that we working peasants must build socialism in alliance with our workers. The U.S.S.R. has shown the way. They have shown us how to use machines for large-scale co-operative agriculture. It is through the work of the ARLUS that we have learnt of the prosperity and happiness of Soviet peasants. 7,000 peasant members have enrolled in our village area branch and we will soon increase it further for our people have begun to see things squarely. Give us more films, books, photographs."

A professor demanded the widest possible discussion on new ideological developments in the USSR—about Lysenko and Michurin. He spoke of his visit to the U.S.S.R. He had seen the role science was playing. "The ARLUS must help to bring up our young generation in the same spirit as Soviet youth."

And then came a commandant of an army school. The foreign delegations sat up and listened to him with rapt attention. He told us that the work of the ARLUS in the army was going up by "leaps and bounds." Every military unit has an ARLUS circle. He demanded a further intensification of work. "Our army must know the Soviet man deeply. Our army must understand how to defend peace. Every soldier an ARLUS member! Long live the friendship between the two Armies!"

The Vice-President got up to answer and this is what he said among other things: "I think it is necessary to be far more critical of our work than the delegates have been. Without frank criticism, comrades, we cannot improve our work." With membership of one and a half million and ARLUS circles dotted all over the map of Rumania, with a publishing house bringing out a number of titles, with schools running for the development of ARLUS cadres, magnificent libraries, with technical journals, magazines, papers, posters, illustrated sheets coming in thousands, the leadership of ARLUS spoke of their work as just having begun. We had learnt a good deal. We had learnt much.

The Congress closed with a telegram of greetings to Stalin and one to the United Nations supporting the Soviet proposal for the banning

of atomic weapons and disarmament.

Into the Battle for Peace

AS we walked down the stately staircase of the Alhenul Roman to join in a mass lunch with the 600 delegates, I remembered the words of that remarkable woman, Anna Pauker, in a speech she delivered on her appointment as Foreign minister: "*The Rumanian people, the workers, the peasants and progressive intellectuals are profoundly interested in the maintenance of peace.... The historical experience of recent years has fully confirmed the conviction shared by all democrats and patriots in Rumania that the relations of friendship with U.S.S.R., which never grudges on any occasion her material and diplomatic aid, are prompted by the very national interests of our country.*"

This Congress was such a national demonstration of peace and against the war-mongers. The people had demonstrated the fact that the "relations of friendship with the U.S.S.R." were indeed "prompted by the very national interests of their country."

The days that followed the Congress were full of bustling activities. Numerous invitations poured in from all sides. At least a dozen huge exhibitions were opened and it would take pages to describe them. We are sad we couldn't be everywhere.

The lunch given by Dr. Petr Groza to the foreign delegations was held in a very friendly atmosphere. Mrs. Anna Pauker was also there. Dr. Groza who comes from Cluj in Transylvania during his interesting conversation with us, interspersed with humour, touched on the solu-



LEFT : Delegates visit the monument to the Red Army men who fell to liberate Cluj (Transylvania). RIGHT : Delegates ready to go down the "Petrilla" mines.

tion of the problem of nationalities, "You must go to Transylvania," he said.

Transylvania, as is known, was returned to Rumania by Hungary with the help of the Soviet Union. A large number of Hungarians live there. When we visited Cluj, the second biggest city in Rumania, we were taken round the Hungarian State University where we were received by the Rector and his colleagues. They told us how past animosities amongst the nationalities had been eradicated and how today the Hungarians have the right to their own language and enjoy the same rights as the Rumanian population. Equality of rights and punishment for any chauvinist tendencies had become a part of the constitution.

Petroshan, Town of Miners

OUR tour on a special train was to last for three days. By day we stopped and looked round and studied. By night we travelled. Each delegation was accompanied by interpreters and language was no obstacle. The young men and women, who had been helping us

from the very first day of our arrival were highly intelligent, well informed and friendly and never too tired to help the delegations to get to know each other and to get the delegations to know their people. At the sumptuous lunches and dinners on the train we walked, we sang our songs individually and some of the Soviet songs collectively and on one of the evenings Eluard gave us the unique pleasure of hearing him recite. We were a happy family.

Petroshan was included in our tour. Petroshan, the town of the miners. Petroshan, I shall never forget. Men, straight from the mines, with lamps in their hands, members of the executive committee filed past shaking hands with the delegates. Hundreds of others had gathered to greet us. The band played and we went in procession over the cobbled stones of Petroshan streets led by the miners to visit their branch of the ARLUS.

The Petrilla miners had invited us. We reached them in a workers' train which jogged along the lovely Jui River. High above the mountainous region, funicular trolleys were in motion, connecting one

mine with another. Immediately on our arrival, the delegates changed into the clothes of the miners and with lamps in hand descended the shaft. Miss Enid Mayell, the British delegate and I stayed above to talk to the engineers and to lunch with the next shift of miners in their canteen. One of the engineers told us that they were 2,000 miners in this district with 15,000 workers at the job. These mines had been built by British monopoly interests which they had expropriated. The British had left the mines with rudimentary equipment. *"Thanks to the U. S. S. R. the modernisation of mining installation has begun."*

I asked one of them what he felt about the new conditions. He answered me earnestly: "On the one hand our responsibilities have grown, on the other life is much easier. In the past engineers were merely technicians. I ought to know. I have worked here 10 years. But now we must learn to be with the people and lead the people. We work in consultation with the workers and take their advice. Efficiency has improved and we all take much more interest in our

work. By the way, it may interest you to know that our present output exceeds that of 1938." Before we left, at a huge festival of the miners in honour of the 31st anniversary, we could see the results of intensive cultural activity being carried on in Petrosan, among men, women and children. *There is not a single unit of the ARLUS, as far as we were able to see, which has not got its choir or dance groups, in which everybody takes part.*

November 7th Comes to Bucharest

WE returned to Bucharest in time for the great day, November 7th. All roads led to the square in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was a lovely sunny day. Early in the morning, from our hotel window we could see a hundred different processions marching towards the square. The delegations arrived by car. Rumanian artists had poured out their best. A mighty tribune in the centre, on the side near to the Ministry, was draped in red where members of the Government and foreign delegations sat. Right opposite was another erection which held delegate members of all organisations. On either side two huge square blocks which formed the entrance and exit carried paintings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Exactly at 10 the army band played the Rumanian and Soviet anthems. The premier Dr. Groza, and the Minister of Industry, the General Secretary of the Rumanian Workers' Party Gheorgiu Dej, addressed the people of Bucharest who heard them through the loud-speakers on the streets where they stood for the march past. Hardly had they finished when the masses began to move. They swung along with the gait of the free, conscious

that they were not alone. Workers carrying banners of their factories, peasants in colourful costumes on horseback—albeit farm horses, nurses in uniform, doctors and students from every faculty, marched happy and united. They went past from 10 to 3 and every unit that appeared brought in a fresh gust of wind. Our eyes wandered to some of the slogans and we read. "*Long live the fight of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence! Long live the democratic forces in Greece! Long live the Soviet Union—friend and ally of all nations fighting for independence and peace! Long live Joseph Stalin—leader of oppressed peoples!*"

The Warmongers Will Not Succeed

IN the evening organised by the people themselves, in each part of the town, on huge open air stages, there was dancing and singing and recitations. We had to hurry away from place to place most reluctantly but there was yet another grand celebration in which we had the honour of being invited. The wife of the Russian Ambassador had arranged an evening at the Embassy to which came representatives of every organisation. In spite of its largeness, the gathering was informal and friendly. The Russian Ambassador and his wife, both of whom we had the honour of meeting at different functions, received their guests at the entrance. We walked through and soon found ourselves in one of the magnificent halls of the Embassy, amidst a group of Soviet men and women and Red Army officers attached to the Embassy with badges of honour and distinction.

Very soon the large spacious halls of the Embassy began to fill up and men and women from different countries were to be seen fraternising and engrossed in the happy

programme of Soviet music and dance and we were ushered into yet another hall which had a regular stage. The first part of the programme was rendered by two Soviet singers, a pianist and a violinist, both very young. The violinist despite her youth showed herself to be a master of her art. The second part was comprised of the national dances of the Soviet Union rendered by the well-known Ensemble from Georgia which we had seen in Tbilisi. All these artists had come as the guests of the ARLUS to give performances under their auspices in Rumania. The leader of the Ensemble remembered us. He had come to the reception given to us by the Georgian Cultural Association known as G. O. K. S. He told us he would like one day to visit India. We told him how much our people would enjoy their programme. Georgian music and dance is so like our own in the north.

After a sumptuous stand-up dinner, the guests began to leave.

It was midnight when we came to our hotel. The next day we would all be going home. We had witnessed great things and participated in them. We had a glimpse of one of the vanguard units of the world army of peace and freedom!

This was the human reality behind the wise and weighty words of Joseph Stalin when referring to the instigators of a new war he said: "*It can only end in an ignominious failure*".....

This is the new life and spirit in Rumania, and not only Rumania!

Books on USSR

If you are in need of any book on the USSR the AIFSU office will help you to buy it provided it is available. Please write with full particulars to:

Literature Department
All-India Friends of Soviet Union
19 Sir P. M. Road, Fort,
BOMBAY.

Indonesia

(Continued from page 16)

the Republic will be transferred to them. *If the Republic refuses to accede, it will be treated as a 'rebellious state'.* In other words the already weakened and amputated Republic was given the choice of either fusing with the Dutch occupied areas or being annihilated. In the event of a clash, Roth writes characteristically, *it seems likely that the United States of America will continue to vacillate, while Britain will favour the Dutch.* In any case, the fate of the Republic had already been settled, or sealed, by the "Good Offices Committee."

Republican Right Wing attacks Anti Dutch Bloc

IN face of this fatal threat the left parties in Indonesia tried to form a national united front against the Dutch. All the left groups merged into a single party uniting within its ranks Communists, Socialists, Labour Party and Socialist Youth Party, etc. They then issued an invitation to all other parties on September 9th, 1948 for a united conference. The Right Wing Parties, however, rejected their offer. *Inspired reports were soon sent out by imperialist agencies forecasting a "Communist rebellion".* According to the Dutch left wing paper "De Waarheid" of Amsterdam:

"On September 18 all Members of the Provisional Parliament of Republic belonging to the Democratic Popular Front were deprived of their seats and the majority of these M. P. s who together held about half the seats, were arbitrarily arrested.

"At the same time mass arrests took place throughout the Republic. Members of the Socialist Party, of the Communist Party, of the

Republican Trade Unions and of the Socialist Youth were arrested."

Three days earlier, on September 15th the Netherland Indies Government had issued a communique banning all "Communist activity" in Indonesia. The Republican Government followed suit and on September 17 martial law was declared in Surakarta. Wholesale arrests of left wing members were reported and soon prominent left wing leaders including Dr. Sjarifoedin, former premier and Muso, leader of the Indonesian Communists who were at the head of the anti-Dutch left bloc were reported killed. Full details of these events are not available and contradictory and inspired accounts have been appearing in the press. But one thing is certain. *The attack on the anti-Dutch force prepared the way for the betrayal and defeat of the Republic at the hands of the Dutch.*

Dutch Perfidy and Anglo-American Connivance

IT was in the wake of these events that the Dutch launched their police action on December 19, 1948. In one fell swoop, without any previous warning, the Dutch, occupied the Republican capital and arrested the Republican leaders. Later events are too fresh and well-known to need recounting here. The conduct of the Anglo-American bloc in the USA, Syria and Colombia proposed a draft resolution asking for a cease-fire and withdrawal to old lines *without apportioning and blame to the Dutch for their treacherous action.* However, the final resolution that was passed on December 24 *made no reference even to the withdrawal of both sides to "truce" lines.* This was aptly summed up in the "Free Press Journal" headline on December 25: "Western Powers Underwrite Aggression". The Dutch ignored even this resolution. The Soviet Union had

opposed this stand of the imperialist powers and said that the Security Council could no longer stand as a disinterested spectator. *It must order the withdrawal of the troops and set up a commission representing all members of the Council to supervise cease-fire order, withdrawal of troops and finally the solution of the whole problem.* The Western Powers united to throw out the Soviet proposals. On December 27 again two Soviet proposals demanding a cease-fire within 24 hours and the withdrawal of Dutch troops to the truce line were killed by the Western powers refusing to vote for them.

Speaking on December 28 Jacob Malik, Soviet delegate, asked: "Why does the Netherlands flout the Security Council?" And he replied: "It is evident they count on higher protectors to take them under their wing."

The Guiltymen of America

THE Dutch aggression in Indonesia was prepared, manned and financed by the Anglo-American imperialists. Their conduct in the Security Council where they appear so helpless before Dutch audacity reminds one strongly of the attitude of Western powers during Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia, following the shameful Munich Pact.

It is to cover up the crimes of the Anglo-American imperialists that Dr. Jessup hurls abuse and invective against the Soviet Union which has consistently stood by the independence of the Indonesian people as of the people of Greece, Korea, Germany and indeed all the world over. But as the Soviet delegate, Malik, said in reply to Jessup on January 11:

No calumnies or insinuations, concerning Moscow and the so-called Communist threat to Indonesia will help the United States representatives to avoid the responsibility of the United States Government for the preparation and unleashing of aggression by the Netherlands."

Unity of anti-imperialist forces outside Indonesia behind the just Soviet demand and unity among Indonesian patriots for a holy war against the Dutch imperialists and their Anglo-American brothers-in-crime can alone guarantee the return of independence to Indonesia. Towards this all democrats must turn their attention.

FSU NEWS

Bombay

Bombay Friends of the Soviet Union inaugurated the "Lenin Week" on January 15 with an exhibition entitled "Lenin Against Imperialism" in their main office in Girgaum.

Indore

Mr. Wagle, Joint Secretary of the Indore F. S. U. has been arrested and detained under the Public Security Measures Act, writes the General Secretary of the Indore F. S. U.

The F. S. U. members in Indore demand his immediate release.

The Indore F. S. U. have been able to secure an office now. Preparations are going ahead for celebrating Lenin Day in Indore.

Allahabad

The Soviet film "Childhood of Maxim Gorky" was shown recently at Allahabad by the "Indo-Soviet Society", branch of the AIFSU, and drew a crowded house. The film ran for two shows.

Dharwar

On the invitation of the organisers, the Karnatak Vidya Vardhak Sangh, the AIFSU sent a small exhibition on Lenin Library to the All-Bombay Karnatak Library Conference held at Dharwar in December.

To an English Intellectual

(Continued from page 19)

Some people may dismiss all I have said as the ravings of an uncivilised barbarian. Even that I'll grant. Like my ancestors before me for more than three hundred years, I have lived in the little island of Barbados in close contact with the British and only the British. In these circumstances we could not possibly be civilised.

Occasionally, however, one of us is found civilised enough to serve a purpose. Grantley Adams, a countryman of mine, championed the British Empire at Uno. I shall never be civilised enough for that. I cannot acknowledge a master. Moreover, it is too late for me to go to Oxford and profit from a liberal education which could teach me to swallow my intelligence and my self-respect. And there are millions like me—too intractable to serve any but the highest purpose, too intelligent to lend their strength to destroying their best friends and thereby preparing their own crematorium.

Now, I have done, and thank you for your attention. I wonder whether you see what I have been trying to say.

PETER BLACKMAN

FROM LIBERATED CHINA

(Continued from page 13)

After several days, as we helped them willingly and sincerely, these suspicion towards us began to melt away. At the time of the wheat harvest, we reaped the harvest in the night for the dependents of the soldiers of People's Liberation Army or some poor peasants, and also when sorghum (Kaoliang) were ripe, cutting and then carrying the crop for them.

The village women taught us how to spin cotton into thread, and we in turn taught them Chinese characters. At the time of a festival or celebration, they together with us sang songs and danced Yanko (a folk dance). We performed plays for them to see and they also entertained us by doing acrobatics on stilts, etc.

From time to time we read newspapers to them, at the corner of the streets, explaining the various policies of the People's Democratic Government, telling them news of victories won by the People's

Liberation Army, and also about the Land Reform carried out in different places, how the feudalistic forces were overthrown and how to organize the great production movement and to zealously support the army fighting at the front.

ON our leaving the villages for another place, the villagers firmly grasped our hands and pulled at the baggage on our backs strapped to shoulders, and asked us persistently to let them carry it. On the way they ardently promised us that they would accomplish the great production targets, promptly tender the tax in kind, and fervently support the front. The village cadres (administrators) also gave us pledge to work harder than ever. Thus they saw us off, walking away from their village several miles in heavy snow.

Our behaviour and action completely punctured Chiang Kai-Shek's false propaganda and thus we raised high the prestige of the Communist Party among the people. They accorded unbounded love to the Party as they began to realize what kind of army is the People's Liberation Army, and thoroughly grasp the fact that they could have peace and prosperity only after defeating Chiang Kai-Shek.

In this way we become one with the people. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung our unity with the people has formed an indestructible fortress or an invincible army. In a period of eight years we routed Japanese imperialism and drove it out, and today we with our very own strength, can and will smash Chiang-Kai-Shek's fascist regime to pieces and will do away with it once and for all.

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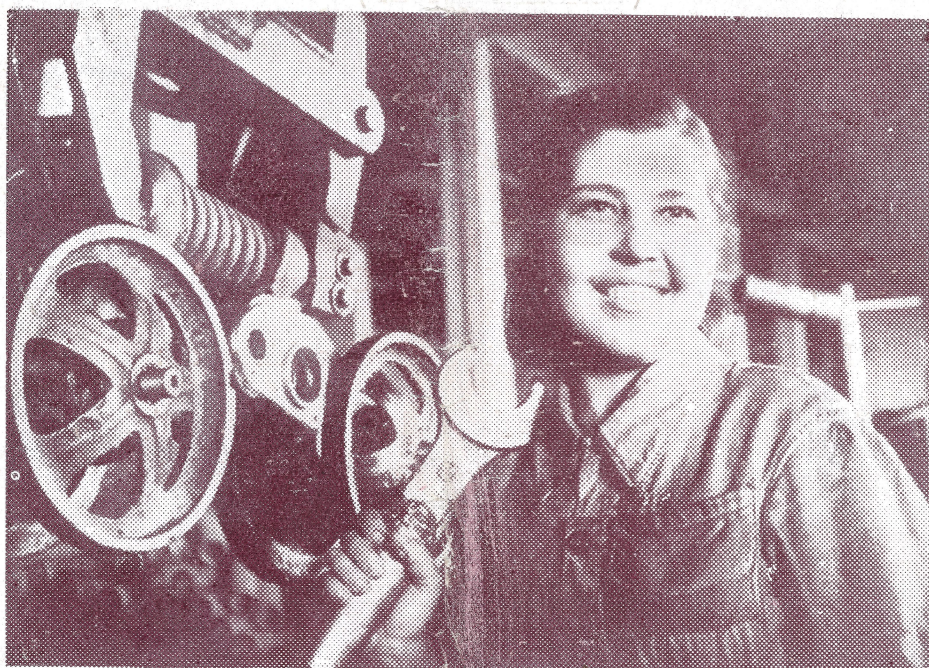
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INSIDE A SOVIET FACTORY

The Soviet Union could defend herself successfully against Hitlerite hordes because:

- 1) She had her own developed Industries,
- 2) Her Industries did not depend on Foreign Capital,
- 3) She could feed and clothe her people from her own fields and Textiles.

Similarly India can defend her newly-won independence only if :

- 1) She embarks upon a comprehensive policy of Industrialisation,
- 2) Her Industries do not depend upon Foreign Capital.
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